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### Intra-segmental timing in sound change: /aw/ in Philadelphia

**Citation for published version:**

Fruehwald, J 2018, 'Intra-segmental timing in sound change: /aw/ in Philadelphia', LabPhon 16, Lisbon, Portugal, 19/06/18 - 22/06/18.

**Link:**

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**Document Version:**

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

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# Intra-segmental timing in sound change

## /aw/ in Philadelphia

### Intro

#### Philadelphia (Labov et al 2013)

date of birth

1900 – 1950 /aw/ raising and fronting

1950 – today /aw/ lowering and backing

Assumes /aw/ is a 2-part diphthong.

Only describes the movement of the "nucleus" of the diphthong.

#### Formant Trajectories

Have been investigated with generation as a categorical variable. Jacewicz, Fox & Salmons (2011)

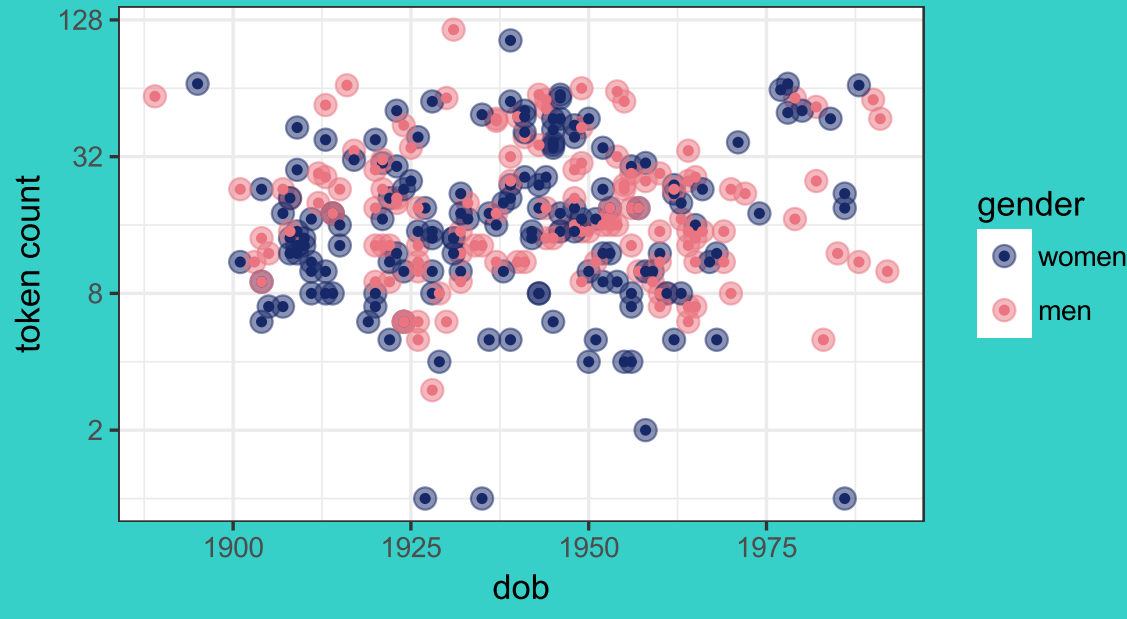
Wholistic measures compared against continuous variables. Risdal & Kohn (2014)

With GAMs, it is possible to model trajectories against continuous variables. Wood (2006)

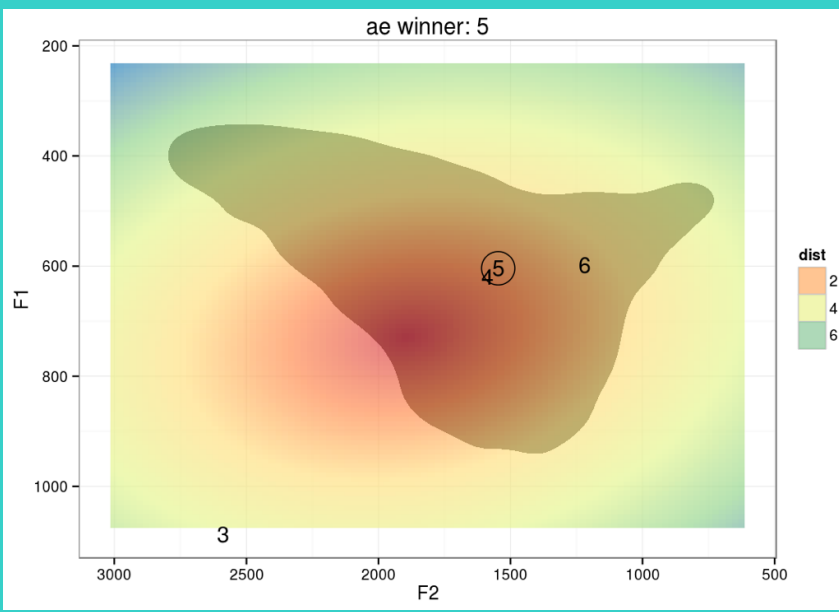
### Methods

#### Data

Philadelphia Neighborhood Corpus  
19,517 tokens of pre-oral /aw/  
279 white speakers



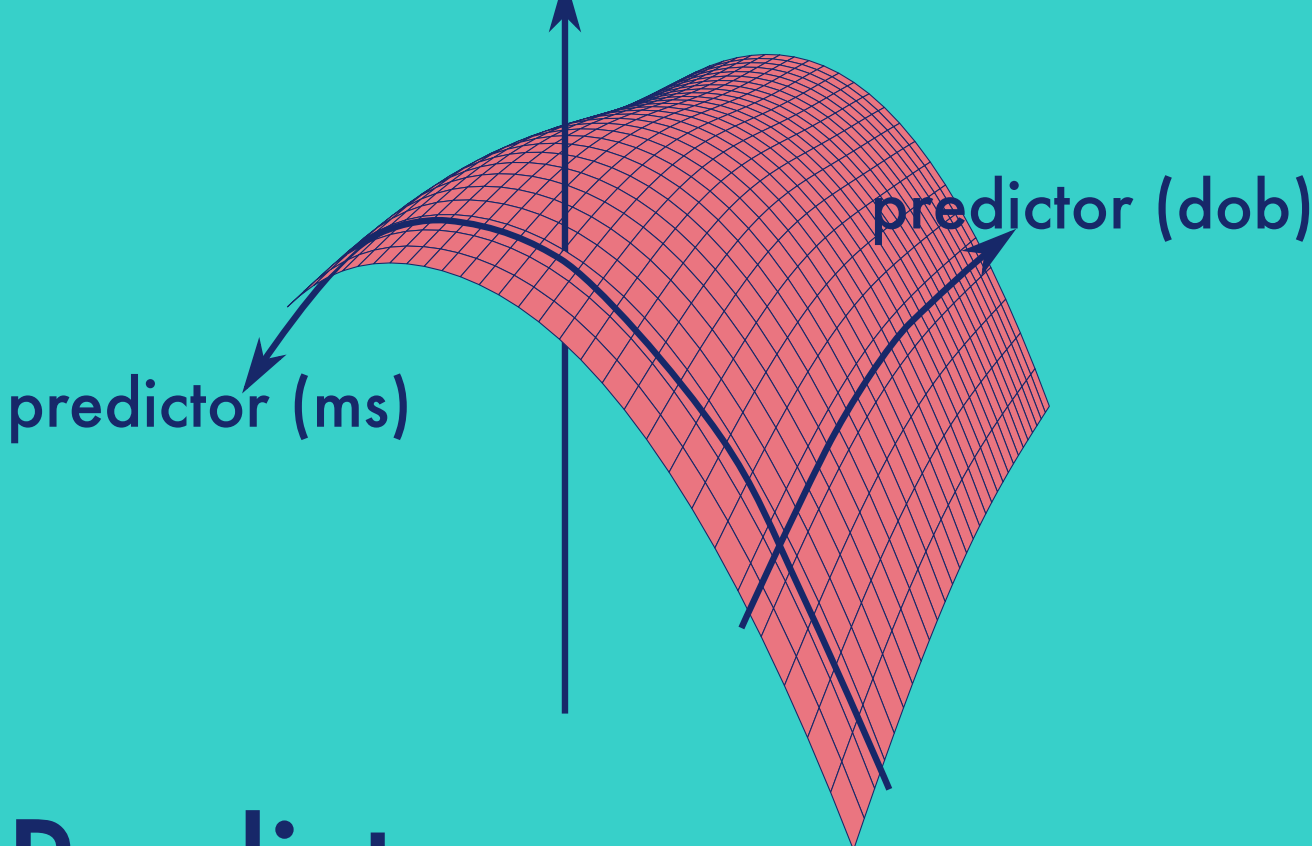
#### FAVE-extract



Full formant tracks extracted  
Subsampled to 20 measurements per token

#### Modelling

Generalized additive models & tensor product smooths



#### Predictors

All non-linear effects and interactions between

- gender
- date of birth
- log2(duration)
- measurement point

Random intercepts

- speaker
- word

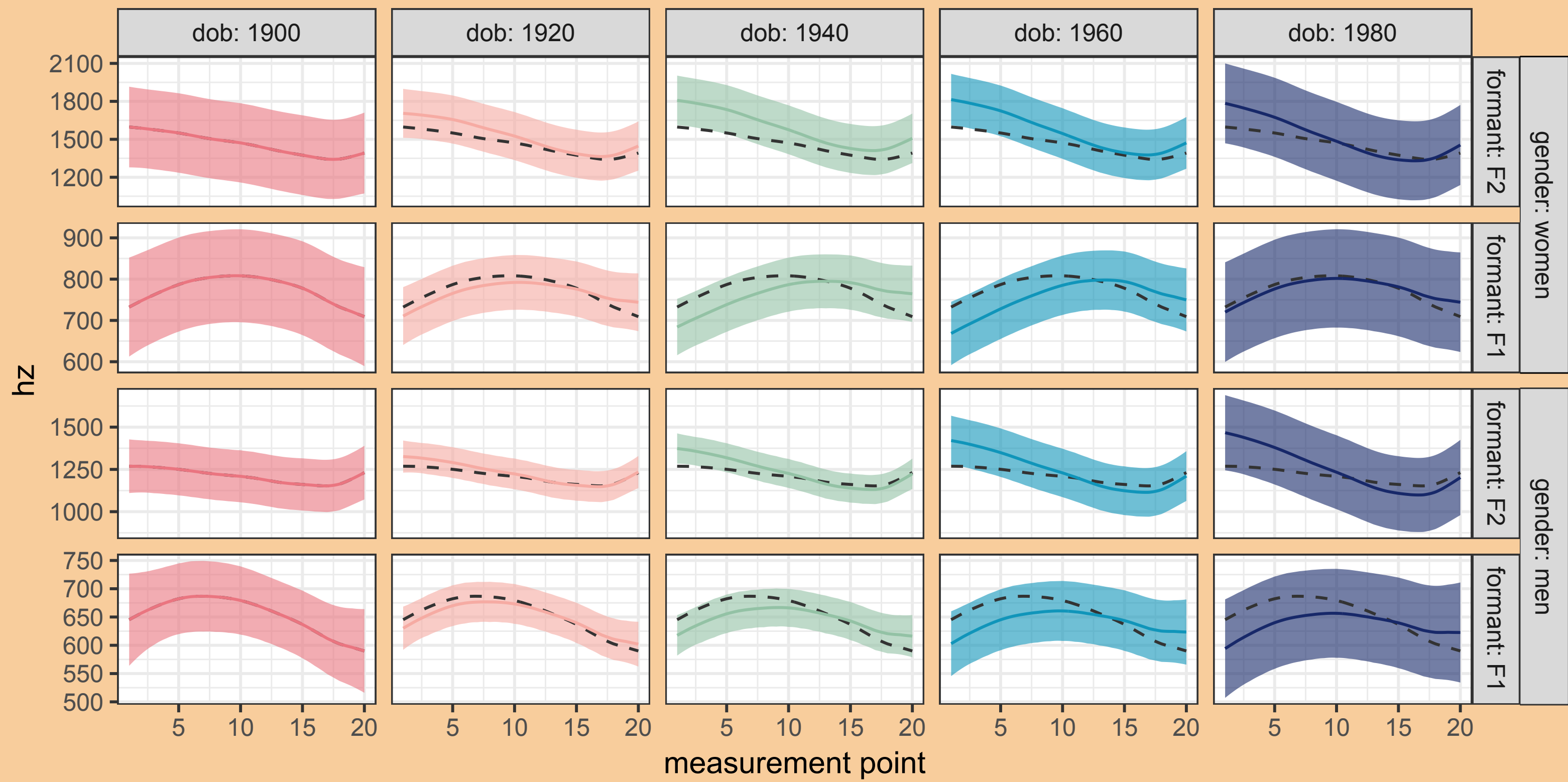
Random smooths

- measurement point by speaker

### Results

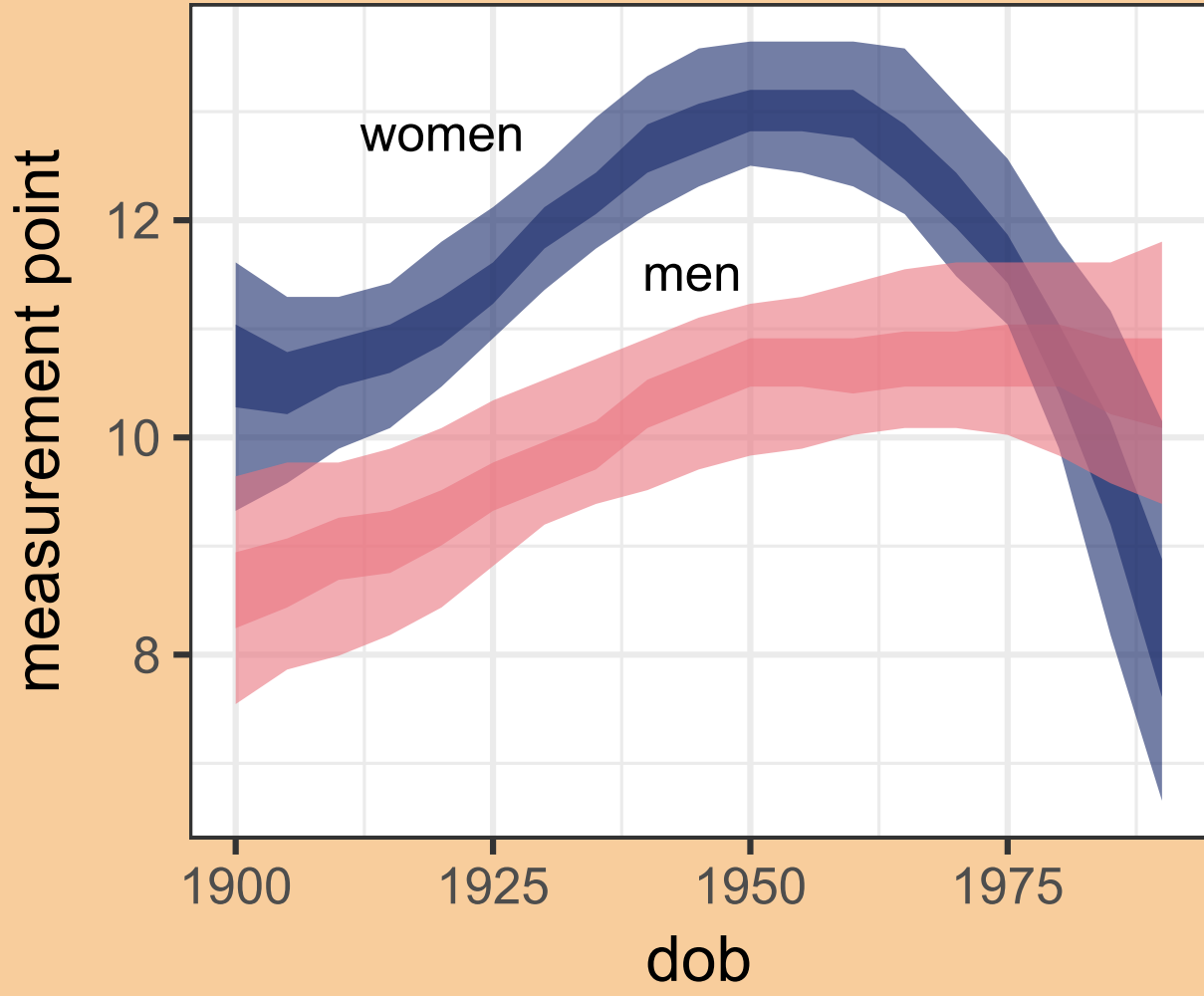
#### formant tracks

falling F2 & single F1 excursion at midpoint (diphthong?)

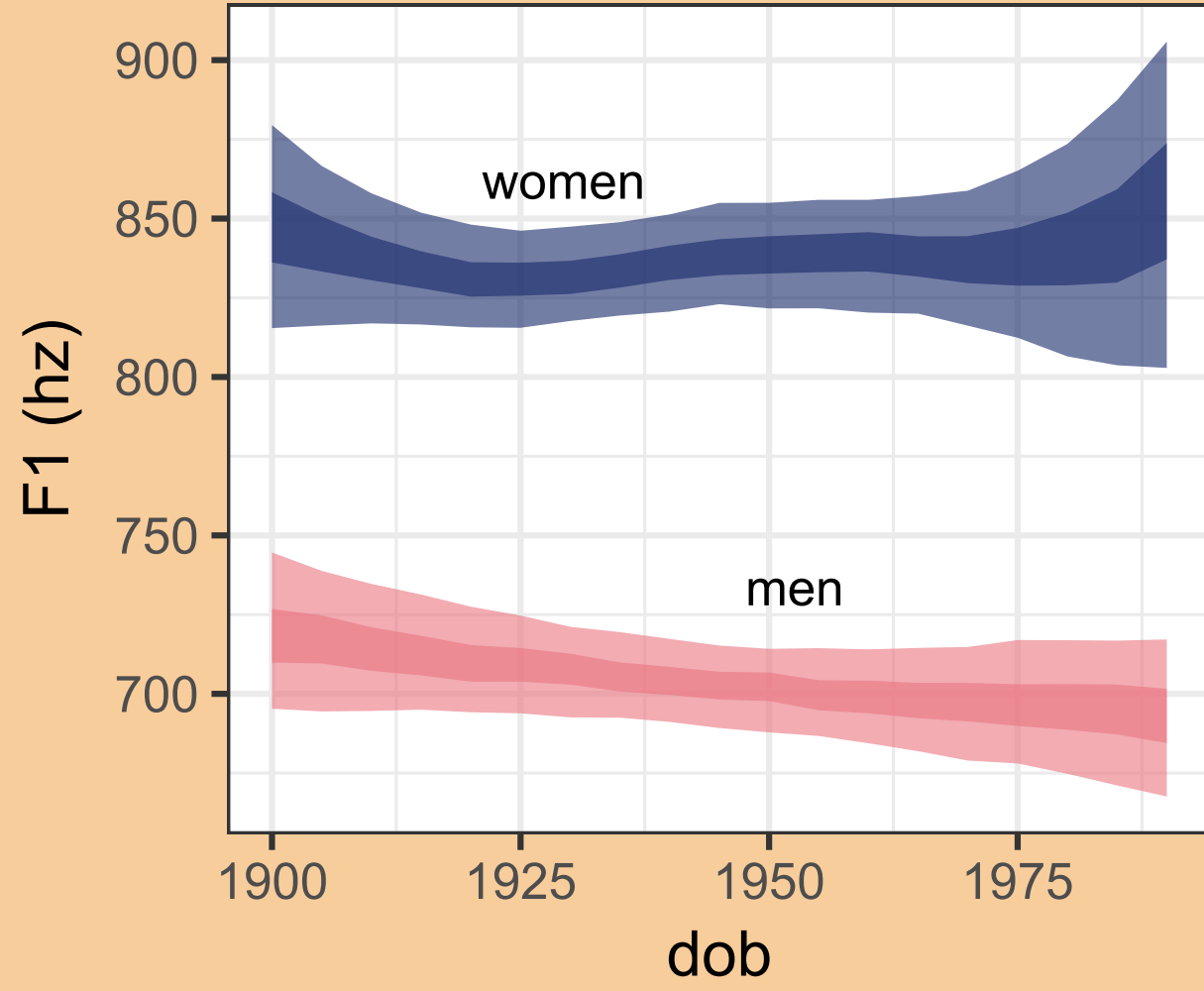


#### max F1 excursion

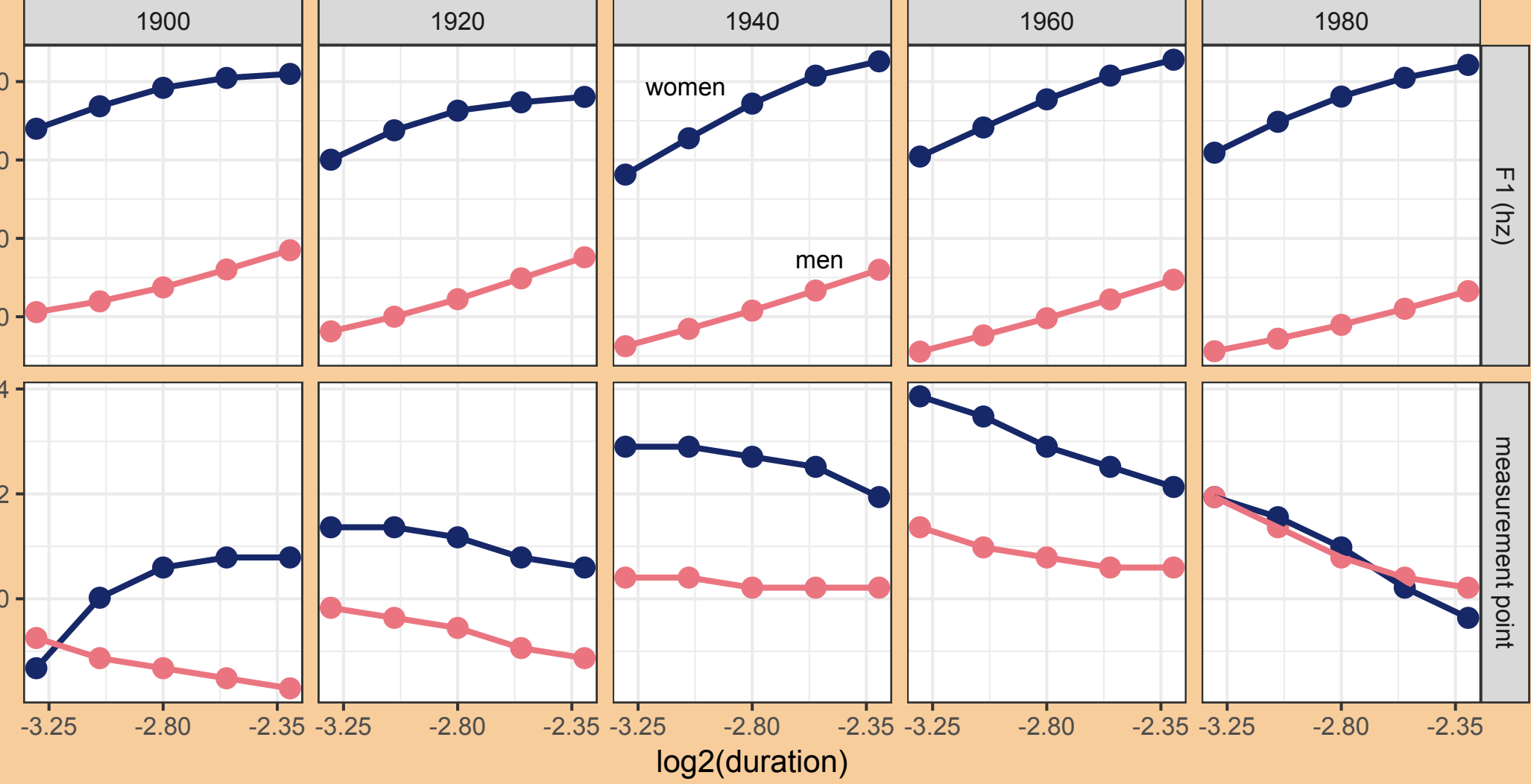
Timing of F1 maximum shifts diachronically



Target of F1 maximum is more stable.

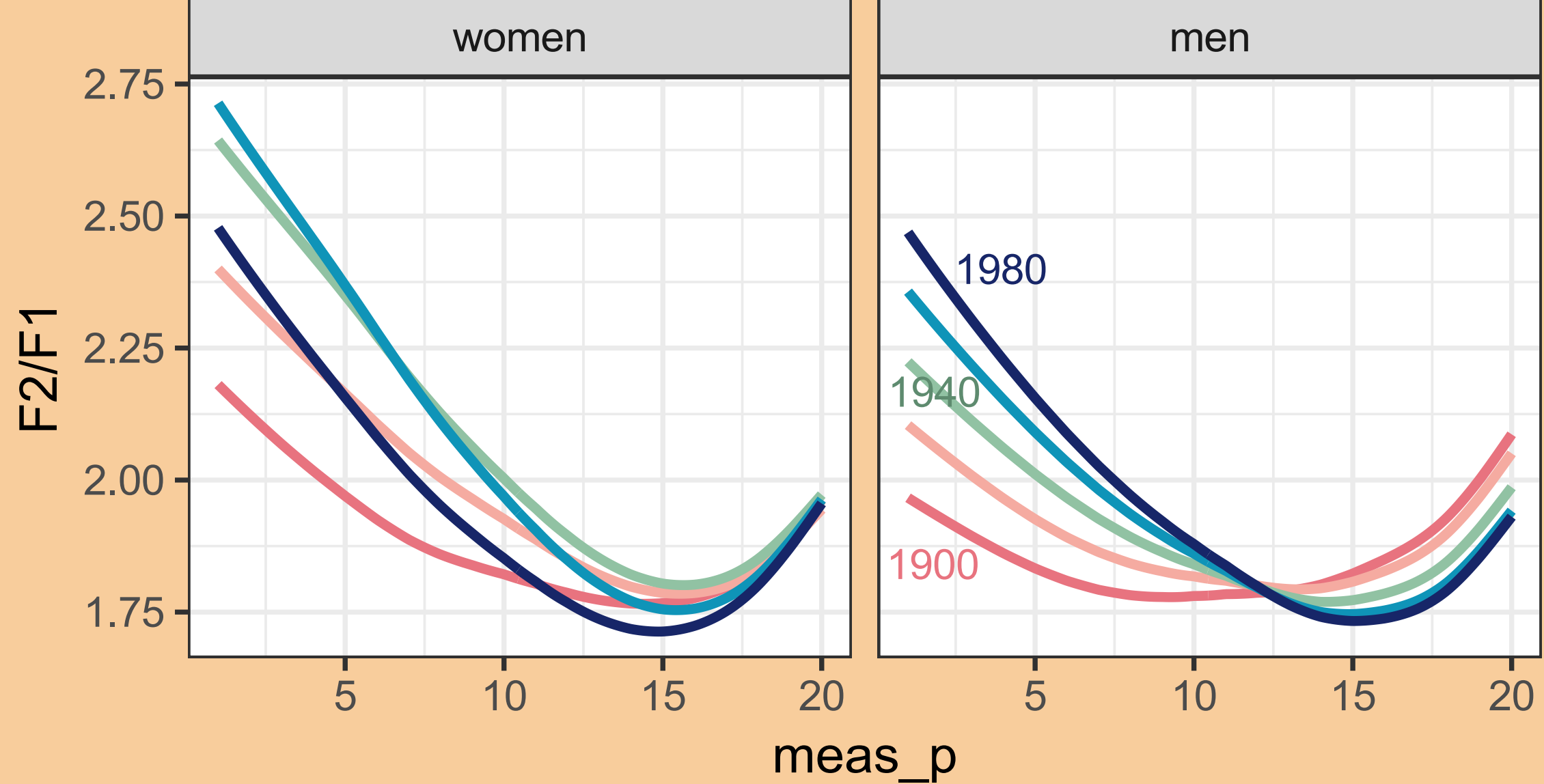


They interact with duration differently, over time



#### F1 relative to F2

Delayed F1 maximum keeps F2/F1 difference larger for longer.



### Conclusion

It is not straightforward to characterize /aw/ as a 2 part diphthong in Philadelphia.

Along with the shifts in vowel quality, there is a considerable shift in relative timing of vowel formant targets.

This puts /aw/ in line with some consonantal phonetic changes, such as Scottish derhotization or Andalusian post-aspiration.

### Further directions

Evaluating and improving quality of automated full formant track extraction.

Incorporating more linguistic (nasals) and social (education) factors into analysis.

Are the F1 and F2 qualities used differently for linguistic or sociolinguistic perception?

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